1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
OO12 Malekula OO12

name of Marawa ("spider") given to one of the early *Tamate* Societies which may be entered by a baby in arms.[1]

The other extension is more interesting, since it provides a connexion between the spider's web and the mortuary labyrinth mythology of Seniang, in South-West Bay. In the mythology of that area the Guardian Ghost sits by a cave on the sea-shore, having drawn beside her on the sand a labyrinth figure which the ghost of the dead man on his way to the Land of the Dead must know how to complete. If he cannot do this, she eats him. The drawing of labyrinth designs, based on the above myth but now largely secular in character, is a common pastime all over the Northern New Hebrides, where they are drawn with the finger in ashes or sand.[2] It is easy to understand how the spider's web spun by the Guardian Ghost in one area should become associated with the labyrinth design drawn by the Guardian Ghost in another. A tale combining both motives comes from South Raga, and relates how one day the deity, there called Barkulkul, when leaving his house, left his wife in it and "shut the door by making, with a liana, a design similar to a spider's web." When he came back, finding the design disturbed, he went to the men's house, where he said to the men, "Let us make drawings." They made drawings in the ashes, similar to spiders' webs, and when Barkulkul saw that his brother Marrelül made the same design as Barkulkul himself had made, he knew that it was he who had entered his house in his absence and seduced his wife. And so he killed him.[3] This story is, of course, a degraded one, but serves to show the widespread symbolism of the spider's web as a labyrinthine structure with a devouring monster in its midst.

Guardian Ghost as "Megapode."

Another interesting piece of symbolism in connexion with the Guardian Ghost is that found in North Raga, where Subwe is also called Malau,[4] which means bush-turkey, or megapode. This remarkable bird has huge claws, with which it digs long tunnels into the ground in which to lay its eggs.[5] The habits of the bird are largely nocturnal, and at night it emits wailing cries. These cries are associated with ghosts, and the tunnelling activity recalls the underground world where the Guardian Ghost lives, which, in the case of Vao, is, as we shall see, a cave. Yet further, the megapode favours volcanic soil on account of the extra warmth it supplies for hatching eggs,[6] and volcanoes are also, as we shall see, connected with

[1] Rivers, 1, vol. I, p. 110. [2] See Chapter XXV. [3] Tattevin, 2, 1929, p. 988.
[4] Rivers, 1, vol. I, p. 189. Compare also Atimis Malau in South-West Bay.
[5] The New Hebridean megapode, *megapodius layardi*, does not build mounds like other members of the species (see p. 752). In Matanavat on the north coast of Malekula, the bird, there called *mola*, is semi-sacred. "If one village gives a scrub-turkey to another, that is a token of permanent peace." Such exchange is there even more sacred than the exchange of hawks (Harrisson, 2, p. 55).
[6] Rivers, 1, vol. II, p. 461.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
0012 Malekula 0012

Laha-mbar-mbar, "Missing Testicle," the son of a woman who conceived by means of a snake before intercourse with her husband Tiki-tikis.

The hero of the story is a man called, in Vao, Laha-mbar-mbar, and in Atchin Las-par-par, from *laha* (*las*), meaning "testicle," and *mbar* (*par*), "to be missing," because, according to the Vao version, he has no testicles, and according to the Atchin version only one.[1] I give the story of his birth in its Atchin version, which in this case is the most complete, but in transcribing it I will, for the sake of uniformity, retain the Vao form of the name Laha-mbar-mbar.

Laha-mbar-mbar's father was a Tolamp man named Tiki-tikis, who married the younger of two sisters from the mainland village of Pot-nangal, the elder being married to a man of the neighbouring village of Pweter-ul. Tiki-tikis's marriage was of a type not uncommon in Malekula, the girl being not yet of age for sexual intercourse when her husband led her home to Tabwish, the sixth and last village before the foundation of the final settlement once again called Tolamp. On the way, he walked quickly in front, while she followed more slowly behind, which caused him to stop from time to time in order to let her catch him up, when he would immediately again go on ahead. Not far from her own home a large snake came into the path. Tiki-tikis, as usual, was on ahead, so did not see the snake. But when the girl came to the spot, it caught and bit her.[2] Tiki-tikis heard her cry, and ran back, saying, "What's the matter?" She said, "That snake bit me," and as he ran he saw the snake, but said, "We cannot kill it." And he took a leaf and rubbed the wound, and said, "Throw the leaf with the blood on it back to the snake." And she did so. And he took the girl and gave her to his mother to look after till she should be of age. And the wound healed.

And she was still young, and Tiki-tikis had not yet lain with her, but she conceived and became with child without intercourse. And his mother saw that she was big, and said, "If she is with child, whose is it?" Tiki-tikis thought hard, and said, "But she is too young. If the girl were old enough, I could understand. I cannot think how she has

[1] These are the local explanations. It is worth noting, however, that in Sa'a and Ulawa, in the Solomon Islands, *alaha* (of which *a* is the personal article) means "chief" (see Ivens, 1, p. 57).

[2] Snakes are phallic symbols throughout Melanesia (see Speiser, 4). Small Island and Northern New Hebridean mythology in general is full of tales of men and women both turning into snakes (see, for example, Codrington, 3, Tales 11 and 12, pp. 403, 404; Tattevin, 2, 1929, pp. 991-3). It is said that of the inhabitants of the mainland village of Botore, close to Lcuru opposite Vao, all men (but not women) when they die turn into snakes of a kind called *tambere*. A mother's brother's daughter of my informant Ma-taru was married to a Botore man who died. She subsequently returned to her home at Togh-vanu on Vao, but no man will marry her because they are afraid that if any man did so her former husband would come in the form of a *tambere* snake and eat him. I have a note of a snake called *Le-venturu* who gave birth to a girl and created a species of yam called *bihure*.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
OO12 Malekula OO12

APPENDIX II

NOTE ON SOME RITUALLY IMPORTANT BIRDS

BY

TOM HARRISSON

The Hawk.

There are two hawks in the New Hebrides, the Harrier, *Circus approximans wolffi*, and the Falcon, *Peregrinus ernesti*.

The Harrier nests on the ground, in wild cane.[1] It is the largest land-bird of the New Hebrides, and very similar to the three types of Harrier found in Britain. The particular New Hebridean form is a subspecies of the type widely distributed in the Pacific zone. The bird is conspicuous for its alternating flight, beating for a few strokes, then gliding. In this way it quarters over the cane-fields, seeking rodents, the small birds that frequent the cane like *Zosterops*, the White-eye, and the Parrot Finches, *Erythrura*. On the whole of Malekula there would not be more than four or five pairs of this hawk; on Santo a few more. An island the size of Vao could not possibly support a pair. For they eat large quantities, including also beetles, and other hard insects; and they like to fly over long distances, and to soar high in the sky, wheeling up in wide circles above their territory. Moreover, the native habit of burning the cane, and the general inflammability of the cane-brakes, keeps down the numbers by destroying the nests and nesting-sites. The bird is a general buff colour, and a specimen collected by me can be found in the Natural History Museum.

The Peregrine Falcon is even rarer than the Harrier. To the eye, it is almost identical with the Peregrine Falcon of Devon and Cornwall. In fact, it is a subspecies of the same species as is found in England. The particular New Hebridean form, *ernesti*, is itself found over a huge area. The Peregrine Falcon is thus one of the most widely distributed birds in the world. I have even seen a specimen in mid-Pacific, as described in the last chapter of *Savage Civilisation*.[2] These birds nest in cliffs and in inaccessible rocks, and are sometimes ferocious in the protection of their young. The bird is small in the body, tremendously long in the wing, and probably the fastest flyer of any bird. It eats mostly the smaller birds, and the single specimen that I obtained contained the remains of the mountain parakeet, *charmynsopsis*, a White-eye, a dove.

Though these birds are both numerically exceedingly scarce, they fly over great distances, and spend nearly all day on the wing. Their conspicuous features are, firstly, their supreme ability in flight, and secondly, their frequent and ferocious killing of other birds, which, to natives with whom I have discussed the matter, is clearly associated with some idea of cannibalism.

[1] This refers to the cane-fields on the uplands of Malekula.
[2] Harrisson, 2.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
0012 Malekula 0012

825 I have 50 or 60 different native names for both birds, but almost without exception the root *Mal* forms a part of these names. Often the name for the Falcon in one tribe is the name for the Harrier in the next, and vice versa. In fact, the two are interchangeable.

Ritual attitude towards birds.

While New Hebrideans are very keen naturalists, they do not look on species in the same way as an ornithologist does. In some cases they class two or three birds together as belonging to one species, in other cases they divide several plumage phases of one bird into different species. This is not due to ignorance, because they know that these phases come from the same eggs, and that the species they class together do not mate together, have different nesting habits, etc. The tendency is much more associated with their ritual attitude to birds, or rather to birds that are important in ritual. All birds which have red in their plumage are particularly confused etymologically. And all birds with red in their plumage are particularly used in ritual in the New Hebrides, especially in Santo, Malekula and around Oba, where red is so important in many ceremonies.

Bush-Turkey.

136 There is one bird which has some red on it, but not in the form of feathers
823 suitable for head-dresses, belts, etc. This is the so-called Bush-Turkey, *Megapodius layardi*,[1] which is characterised by its skulking jungle habits, dog-like bark, and the fact that the New Hebridean form is not a mound-builder, but digs long tunnels into the ground, in which it places its eggs. I have elsewhere described the importance of the Megapode, especially its use in ritual interchange, even more elaborate interchange than that used in connexion with the Harrier, between villages in North Malekula. The same thing is found on Malo, where flying foxes are used in precisely the same way, and where the natives ascribe the origin of the Ranked Society to these interchanges. Rivers has already noticed the widespread use of the root *Mal* (as in *malau*) for the megapode all over the Pacific. On p. 340 of *Savage Civilisation* I have pointed out his erroneous conclusion from this fact. As I see it, the explanation of this is that the natives who swept down into the Pacific and spread all over it, had in their mind certain qualities which they described by the term *Mal*, and applied this term wherever they arrived to suitable birds.

Frigate Bird.

There is one other very important bird, which, unlike the Harrier and the Falcon, combines the quality of redness with the quality of superb flight and predacious habit. That is the Frigate Bird, the huge sea-bird which ranges all over the Pacific Ocean, and lives largely by pursuing other birds and forcing them to sick up their food, in the same way that the Skuas of Britain do. The Frigate Bird has a scarlet throat-patch, enormous wing-spread, a forked tail similar, on a larger scale, to the forked tail of the Harrier, and a superb flight. But the Frigate Bird keeps mostly out to sea and nests only on remote and tiny islands. For people who live on larger islands,

[1] This is not called after the author, but after his first cousin twice removed, the late Edgar Leopold Layard, C.M.G., British Consul in Nouméa from 1872 to 1890, and brother of Sir Henry Austin Layard.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
OO12 Malekula OO12

136
825

inland, the Frigate Bird can only be seen very rarely. I am certain, as a result of many conversations, that in such cases the Frigate Bird becomes equated with the Harrier and Falcon. The native names are again inextricably confused, and one can almost trace the Frigate Bird's dominance on the small coastal islands like Vao and Atchin, decreasing as one goes inland into the Middle Nambas, and disappearing as one gets on to the high cane-plateau of the Big Nambas. In my opinion, also, the Frigate Bird was definitely the original symbol, and the suitable symbol of a sea-going people.

Shearwater and Swift.

There are two other groups of birds to which special attention is paid by the natives, and who have widely similar names all over the islands, the Shearwaters and the Swifts. The Swifts, usually having names based on the root *rara*, are miniature falcons in flight, though not in habit. After the falcons, they are the fastest flyers. The Shearwaters, like the Frigate Bird, are tireless sea-goers, and also conspicuous in that in certain seasons they swarm literally in hundreds of thousands, passing on their way to certain nesting-grounds, one of which happens to be in the New Hebrides, in a small uninhabited island near Tongoa which I visited and where I studied their habits. It so happens that the main stream of these birds passes just off the Small Islands on its way south, and I have myself witnessed this mass-migration, carrying on in an almost continuous line for thirty-six hours.

Owl.

Finally, there is the Owl. Again, its native name is the same practically all over the Pacific, *Lulu*. Again, it is predacious, killing other birds and rodents. Again, it is comparatively scarce in the islands. And again, it is a bird which has a very wide distribution. Like the Falcon, but unlike the Harrier, the New Hebridean form is actually only a subspecies, and exactly the same species as that found in Britain, *Tyto alba*. The Owl has the particular attribute of being nocturnal, the only strictly nocturnal bird in the New Hebrides. The name *Lulu* is also widely used of the pygmoid peoples, who are in most places extinct, and who are widely regarded as the original Hebridean stock. The Owl is not etymologically confused with any of the other birds, and is not so important in ritual ; rather is it important, I think, as a fear and superstition symbol, the spirit of the night.

2: Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1936
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Small Islands

Dr. W. H. R. Rivers and myself to Malekula.[1] These monuments, which include dolmens, monoliths, stone-platforms, cairns, and circles, primarily and to this day still associated with mortuary ritual, reach their highest development in connection with the great sacrificial rite called *Maki*, the name given in these islands to a socio-religious hierarchy corresponding to the Mangke of the Big Nambas, based on identification with the ancestors and with a mythical hawk. This rite is at once the great unifying factor in these islands and at the same time the most frequent cause of the intensest rivalry. In most parts of Malekula the rite is an individual one, performed by one man at a time, and consists of a number of grades which last a life-time in the taking. In Atchin and the neighbouring islands however, owing to their possession of an anomalous kinship system closely allied to the six-class system of relationship discovered by Deacon on Ambrym, it is a communal one, all men of alternate generations within any given village sacrificing at once. The sacrificial animal is the tusked boar, from which the upper canines have been removed in order to allow unimpeded growth to the tusks, which curve round, re-enter the jaw, and, if the boar is allowed to live, finally emerge again and, in rare instances, make three complete circles. The rearing of these boars is an extremely skilled process in which the inhabitants of these islands excel all others, and is accompanied by many magical performances. These boars are graded according to the size of their tusks at any given moment, and also, while alive, serve as currency for the purchase of wives, for ceremonial exchange between affinal relatives, and for innumerable other purposes. It is thus no small indication of the importance of the *Maki* in native life that it is not unusual at the culminating point of one of these protracted rites for as many as five hundred of these valuable tusked boars, each worth from ten to forty pounds in English money, to be sacrificed at once.

There are two kinds, or to borrow an ecclesiastical term, uses, of *Maki* in these islands. In the older form, still practised in the village of Petehul on Vao, there are two monuments only, a large dolmen and a stone-platform, at each of which the sacrifice is made.

In the newer use as practised on Atchin ten shrines are erected along one side of the dancing-ground, each consisting of a dolmen, a monolith, and a carved wooden image representing the ancestral spirit, surmounted by a roof of which the ridge-pole, resting on the head of the image, represents the head and wings of the mythical hawk. By the side of each shrine nine further dolmens or monoliths (depending on which group of alternate generations is performing the rite) are erected, which, joined together, form a continuous line of a hundred stones. Behind all these stand two stone platforms, also furnished with images and roofed, one for each of the two social groups called "Side of the Stone," and on the other side of the dancing-ground is another continuous line of a hundred small stones. These stones all represent ancestors, and it is to them and to the images that the sacrificial boars are tied. The complete *Maki* which, as has been said, is alternately performed by men of alternate generations, is a protracted composite rite lasting, in its extended form, for anything between fifteen and thirty years, during which an almost

[1] Dr. Rivers stayed only eight days, after which he took a passing motor launch to Tangoa.